COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. X. No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" E'en liberty itself is barter'd here.
" At gold's superior charms all freedom flies;
" The needy sell it, and the rich man buys."——GOLDSMITH.

TO THE
ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER II.

GENTLEMEN;

The words of the above motto contain a description of the political state of Holland about forty years ago. From such a state abject submission to a foreign power is never far distant; it never can be far distant; to which I will add, that it *ought* not to be far distant; and, so far from pitying the people of Holland, we shall, if we duly reflect, be inclined to think, that the conqueror rules them with two light and gentle a hand, and that their punishment is by no means adequate to the political crimes which have brought that punishment upon them.—— We are apt to ascribe the overthrow of states, and the subjugation of nations, to adventitious circumstances, to the fortune of war, to the ignorance or treachery of statesmen. No nation is willing to attribute its ruin to its own baseness, and the world is generally disposed to listen to accounts given by those who have been engaged in the scene. But, if we inquire diligently into the causes which have led to the subjugation of nations, we shall find, that, nine times out of ten, *the baseness of the people*, low as well as high, (as in the case of Holland) has been the principal cause.

Our country is not yet subjugated; let us hope that it never will; but, it is, by every one, confessed to be in a perilous situation; it is, by every one, confessed to be in a situation in which it cannot possibly for many years maintain its independence; and, if you see it in that light, does it not behove you, at this moment in particular, " diligently and impartially to inquire, whether all the evils we endure, and all the dangers that threaten us, are not to be ascribed to the folly and baseness of those, who have possessed, and who have so shamefully abused, their privilege of choosing members of parliament?"

These evils are, FIRST, a system of taxation so extensive as to leave to no man scarcely any thing, scarcely any species or article of property, in which the tax-gatherer does not, in one way or another, come to claim a share on the part of the government; SECOND, an universal prevalence of disguise, insincerity, suspicion, fraud, and ill-will between man and man, engendered by the system of taxation: and, THIRD, the existence of nearly a million and a half of paupers, in England and Wales only, upon a population of less than nine millions of souls.——The dangers that threaten us, are, an increase of taxes, an increase of immorality thereby engendered, an increase of paupers, and, as the natural consequence of all these, a further decrease of public spirit, and, in short, such a state of things as may finally render England what Holland now is.

The greater part, the far greater part, of the evils which we now endure, have been brought upon us by the councils and the measures of PITT. The immense sums which he squandered upon East-Indian speculators; the millions he wasted in pensions and grants of various sorts; the hundreds of millions he expended upon ill-concerted schemes of war, and upon the innumerable swarm of his friends and supporters, who profited from that expenditure: all these rendered taxes absolutely necessary; but, it was, at all times, in the power of *the House of Commons* to have prevented the minister from adopting the measures by which that necessity was created, it being the chief use of that House to watch over the expenditure of the public money, and to withhold it, unless in cases where the granting of it is evidently necessary for the public good. Yet, during the twenty years squandering of Pitt; during the whole of the time that he was more than doubling the national debt, never did the House of Commons, in any one instance, refuse him the money he asked for, however enormous the sum, and however foolish or profligate the purpose. The law required, that the formality of a vote should take place, in order to enable the minister to levy each successive tax upon the people; but, with the exception of this *form*, what was there more than the mere mandate of the minister?

The fault, then, lay in the House of Commons. That House we have to look to for all the evils we feel, and all those we apprehend. But, the House of Commons is called the *representative of the people*, and, in many cases it is so; and, if that House do wrong, it is because the people themselves have made a bad choice. I shall, perhaps, be reminded, that MR. GREY, now lord Howick, asserted in parliament, that there were 300 of the members, whose seats were the private property of noblemen and others, and who came into the House without having had any connection or acquaintance with those who were called their constituents. But, though we cannot deny this, the people have still power enough, if they had the virtue, to elect such a House of Commons as should protect them against the effects of every weak or wicked measure, on the part of a minister. There are upwards of 70 *county* members; there are 50 more sent by cities or boroughs, over the electors of which no man can have any other control than that which is given him by the folly or the baseness of the electors; and, though 120 members are but few in comparison with the whole number of which the House now consists, every one must perceive, that, against the decided will of 120 such members as might be selected, no minister would be able to carry any measure whatever; because, in the mind of the nation, those members would be estimated according to their real worth, and not merely according to their numbers. Nay, it is my opinion, that if there had been, for the last twenty years, but twenty members, chosen upon principles such as ought to prevail, we should have avoided great part, if not the whole, of our present calamities and dangers. We have, upon particular occasions, seen what only one or two members are capable of effecting; what, then, might not be effected by 20 members, entering the House with a fair resolution to do their duty; and particularly with a resolution *never to touch the public money, either by their own hands, or by those of their relatives?* This is the great *test*. All professions, short of this, I account as nothing; for, experience has proved to us, that, the moment the patriot begins to pocket the profits of a place or a pension, he changes his tone, or he becomes mute, and seems to forget every thing that has theretofore passed in his life-time.

These are truths which hardly any man will attempt to deny; but, the worst of it is, that the electors are, but in too many instances, participators in all the worst feelings of the elected. They can complain, most bitterly complain, of oppression; but, comparatively speaking, there are very few of them who will scruple to avail themselves, as often as they can, of the advantages, or imaginary advantages, to be derived from assisting those who are the cause of such oppression; and, perhaps, in their complaints against the government, none are more clamorous than those, who find themselves compelled to refund in a tax the price of their vote at an election. Such men may complain; but, who will be weak enough to pity them? A nation of such men may be subjugated, and crawl along the remainder of their days under the lash of a conqueror; but, is there any man that will not say, that those who have sold their liberty ought not be slaves? In the City of Westminster, as was observed in my last letter, there is less excuse for base conduct, than there is in almost any other body of electors; and, therefore, for you to barter your liberties, is a crime such as can be committed but by very few others.

Let no man deceive himself by the subterfuge, that it is not *money*, for which he gives his vote. To give money to all, or to half the electors of Westminster, would strain the purse, even of a Nabob, or a Contractor; but, to bribe with the hopes of gain, with the hopes of increased trade, or with the more seducing hope of causing the elector or his relations to be maintained at the expense of the government: or, in other words, of enabling them to cheat the public; to bribe in this way is easy enough; and, in this way has bribery been most successfully practised. Weak, however, must that elector be, who hopes, by a pitiful evasion, to escape from the punishment which awaits such conduct; who hopes to escape from the contempt of mankind, and from those stripes of oppression, which, by his own baseness, he has enabled others to inflict upon him. To hear such a man complaining of the weight of taxes, and to see him, with that complaint upon his lips, go to the hustings and give his vote for a man, from whom he has no reason to expect any thing but a tame acquiescence in every measure proposed by any and by every man who happens to be minister, is something too disgusting to admit of an adequate description.

That there will, upon the present occasion, be *few* such men found amongst you, it would be too much to hope; but, surely, it may reasonably be hoped, that a *majority* of you will not be found of that class. The *journeymen* who compose no small part of the electors of Westminster, appear to me to be entirely out of the reach of seduction.

They are, generally speaking, independent of the power of their employers; and, if that power be attempted to be exercised over them; if their employers attempt to deter them from voting according to their consciences, every means should be taken of exposing to public scorn and indignation the conduct of such employers. The artizans of a work-shop, led to the hustings under the command of the master, are degraded to a level with cattle, retaining all the sins of the worst description of men. The language of law, and the language of reason, is, that "elections should be freely and indifferently made;" that is, that there should be no undue influence used; no threats, no promises, to any individual elector; nothing to induce him to vote, or to abstain from voting, contrary to his own will and intention: and, every man, using such undue influence, is guilty of an outrage towards the person he attempts to seduce, and of offence against the law. That such attempts have been made with impunity, and even with success, is no justification of those who may again make them, much less is it a justification of those who leave them unresented; and, I earnestly hope, that, upon this occasion, every elector, upon whom such attempts may be made, will act like a man who retains a due sense of his rights, and who is resolved to exercise those rights solely for the good of his country.

As to the candidates, who have offered themselves to you, at this time, I could have wished, that either one or the other had explicitly pledged himself never, in his whole life, to touch, either by himself or his relations, one farthing of the public money. But, since neither of them has done this, your choice, if no new candidate offers himself, must be influenced by other considerations; and, it appears to me, that the very first consideration is, that of preventing your city from becoming, as to all practical purposes, *a mere family property*, handed over from one Lord to another Lord, just like a private estate, with all the game and deer thereon feeding and being. I beg you to reflect, only for one moment, upon the shocking degradation of being thus transferred; upon the shame, the infamy, of being bargained for, bought and sold by ATTORNIES, and of becoming the subject of a Bill and Receipt! On the extent and weight of your *example* I beseech you to reflect still more seriously. Where, if not in Westminster, shall we look for evidences of freedom in elections? Where, if Westminster becoms a family borough, shall we find an object of imitation, towards which to direct the attention of other places? In short, so fearful are the consequences of your becoming the slaves of a great family or two, that I scruple not to say, that upon your decision on this occasion depends infinitely more than upon any other event, which, at this day, can be regarded as within the compass of possibility. In you hands is now placed the fate of the people of England, as far as regards their political liberties; and, in the confident hope, that you will not betray your trust,

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your friend and humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 18th Sept. 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEGOCIATIONS FOR PEACE.—The progress made by Lord Lauderdale is kept a profound secret; but, the certainty, in which we now are, with respect to the conduct of the Emperor of Russia, affords us, I think, good grounds whereon to believe, that there will be no peace at this time.——Until we are fully informed as to the *terms* of the treaty, concluded by M. D'OUBRIL, it is impossible for us to give any decided opinion upon the refusal, on the part of Russia, to ratify that treaty; but, the reasoning of those who have defended the conduct of Russia, upon this occasion, does not, to me at least, appear quite satisfactory.——That a sovereign is bound to ratify a treaty, *be the terms what they may*, which has been concluded by a plenipotentiary, cannot be maintained; for instance, no one will pretend, that, if D'OUBRIL had agreed to cede St. Petersburgh to France, the Emperor of Russia would have been bound to ratify the treaty. But, on the other hand, "*full powers*" are a mere mockery, if the ratification is to be refused under a pretence, that the plenipotentiary has deviated from the "*spirit* of his instructions."——The full powers, as will be seen in a subsequent page of this sheet, enjoined on D'OUBRIL to make such a treaty as should be conducive to the lasting peace and harmony of Russia and France and of Europe in general. The instruction was very indefinite; but, may not the refusal to ratify tend to excite a suspicion, that they were *purposely so*? I do not say, that, when the terms come to be fully known, the refusal to ratify may not admit of justification; but, I do say, that, if we were to admit the arguments that have been used, in some of our prints, in favour of the refusal, *full powers* must, for the future, be

regarded as conferring *no power at all.*—— Indeed, it is but too evident, that the arguments, here alluded to, have been suggested by convenience, and not by any sound principle of public law. A FOURTH COALITION seems to be wished for and expected; and, without a refusal to ratify D'OUBRIL's treaty, a fourth coalition is impossible.——As to the probable consequences of another coalition, I offered my opinion in the preceding sheet (page 481); but, I have not the vanity to suppose, that that opinion will have any weight with those writers, who now talk, with more confidence, I think, than ever, of "the *growing spirit* of the still "unsubjugated states of the continent." ——After all that we have seen within these twelve months; after the battle of Ulm; after the capture of Vienna; after the battle of Austerlitz; after the peace of Presburgh; after the Rhenish confederacy; after seeing a new king in Holland and another in Naples; after all this, who would expect to hear, from any human creature in his senses, language like the following:— "The cloud that has so long hung over the "affairs of the continent begins to dissi- "pate, and it is at length permitted to "look, if not to brilliant, at least to serene "prospects in that quarter. The growing "spirit of the still unsubjugated states of "the continent, affords a just and reason- "able hope, either that the power of "France may be reduced within some li- "mits by a vigorous war, or some bounds "set to its vast projects of aggrandizement "by the terms of a peace to which, under "existing circumstances, Buonaparté may "find it convenient to agree. *The prepa- "rations for war are carried on with redou- "bled vigour in every part of the continent.* "From the Black Sea to the German "Ocean, from the Baltic to the Mediterra- "nean, Europe exhibits but one uniform "scene of military movements and hostile "indications. Prussia has made conside- "rable progress in forming a northern con- "federation, as a counterpoise to the con- "federation of the Rhine, and has assumed "a formidable military attitude, with a "view to give weight to her measures, and "to prevent further encroachments in Ger- "many. In the mean time, all the powers "that are to compose this confederation, "are making uncommon efforts to place "their force on the war establishment. "Russia has made considerable augmenta- "tions to the numbers of her armies, which "are stationed in such points as are most "convenient to the probable scene of "action, in the event of any rupture in "Germany. *Austria, too, has made asto- "nishing advances in the work of repairing "the disasters of last campaign.*"——Of the sort and degree of those "*advances*," which Austria has made, may, by the intelligent reader, be easily imagined from the tone and substance of a FINANCE PATENT, published by the Emperor, no longer ago than the 6th of last month. This document, which merits an attentive perusal, sets out with stating, that all the calamities, which have befallen the Austrian Monarchy, have not afflicted the Royal breast so much as the present necessity which compels him to lay fresh burdens upon his people, "for the "purpose of assisting the weakness of the "state, and removing the evils which "remain as the natural consequences of the "late wars. These wars," proceeds the patent, "which have succeeded each other "with little intermission, have been more "expensive than any that the Monarchy has "ever undertaken. The expense of each "campaign has far exceeded the sum total "of the usual annual revenue of the state. "——The resources of foreign loans, to "which the Emperor's ancestors had re- "course, it is remarked, were rendered "useless by the change which had taken "place in political relations; and the "operation of domestic loans were found to "be too slow, and in their issue too uncer- "tain; so that even these could not be "made to cover more than the fourth of the "expenditure of a single campaign; and "therefore to provide for the rest of the "necessary expenses merely by forced loans, "and extraordinary imposts, would have "been destructive of the well-being of the "subject, especially when a succession of "bad harvests had produced a dearth, and "when several thousands of hands had been "taken from the plough, and from the "workshops of the mechanic; and, lastly, "when the restrictions upon commerce and "the arts had imposed new limitations upon "the revenue.——In this situation nothing "remained to the government but the "increase of paper, which, with the yearly "accumulation of the interest, tended to "multiply the exigencies of the state; and "this, notwithstanding the limitations "already introduced into every branch of "the public expenditure, and other reforms "which the Monarch has in view, is still "inadequate to the competency requisite to "the support of the state.——Such a crisis, "unless met with firmness and combated "with resolution, must augment the danger "both of the Sovereign and the subject. "The Emperor, therefore, not doubting of

"the fidelity and patriotism of his hereditary "states, expresses the same confidence in "his subjects in Transylvania and Hun-"gary."——The Emperor concludes with acknowledging the regret which he feels in consequence of being compelled to lay fresh burdens upon his faithful people; and observe, that the magnitude of the evil demands a quick and active remedy. He therefore in the first place proposes to remove the most pressing of these calamities, viz. the overflow of the Vienna Bank Bills, and to establish a fund for their recal and total annihilation. The patent afterwards proceeds to state the conditions of the new loan, and also that the new duties upon salt, tobacco, postage of letters, &c. are only to remain in force five years; the revenue arising from these duties is to be solely appropriated to the raising a fund for the liquidation of the Vienna Bank Bills.—— The Emperor admits that he cannot yet entirely excuse the provinces from *contributions in kind for the support of the military*; however, he is willing to relieve them from that which has been the most burthensome, namely, *the contribution of corn*; a tax in lieu of this is very shortly to be brought forward. A stamp upon various kinds of ware is also agreed upon ——By the means of the present patent, and the assistance of his kingdom of Hungary and the Dukedom of Transylvania, and in consequence of his Majesty's exertions *to preserve the continuance of peace inviolate*, for the happiness of his crown and the nations entrusted to him by Providence, and of his desire of which he had lately given an irrefragable proof, his Majesty hopes, under the protection of the Almighty, to arrive at a happier state, and to witness the much wished-for period when he shall be enabled to enjoy the consolation of removing those heavy burthens from the shoulders of his subjects, which an unfortunate concurrence of untoward events has obliged him to lay upon them.——On the 1st of September an excise duty was also to be laid upon all *flesh*, *fowl*, *game*, and *wine* brought into Vienna.——And, is it of such a state that we are to hear, with patience, of the "*vigorous preparations for war!*" A state which is overflowed with a paper money, fallen a hundred-fold, probably, in value; a state that is compelled to lay a tax upon *flesh*, *fowl*, *game*, and *wine* (the produce of the fields and the gardens); a state that is compelled, even now that it is at peace, to levy *contributions in kind* for the support o its troops: is it such a state that we are to hear represented as one of the power to compose a new and formidable coalition? Is it such a state upon the "growing spirit" of which we are called upon to rely for exertions tending to reduce the power of France within reasonable limits? ——But, is it not absurdity, bordering upon idiotism, to talk of a coalition between Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, at a moment when the two latter are engaged in a war for an object, which, the latter has declared that she will have restored, and which the former has declared, in terms equally positive, that she will not give up?——In short, a FOURTH COALITION appears to me to be impossible; and, if it should take place, I cannot help fearing, that the result will be far more disastrous than was that of the THIRD.

BUENOS AYRES.——The capture of this colony, has, it is said, "filled the commercial world with joy." I do not doubt it. *Me* it has not filled with joy; because, though I admire the promptitude and bravery which have been manifested by the commanders and the troops upon the occasion, I do not see any solid national advantages that can possibly arise from the capture; while, on the other hand, I can easily perceive, that it may be a cause of national disappointment and debility.——The shallow-brained rabble (in high life as well as in low) will see nothing but the *mines* and the *money*, waggon-loads of which latter are, it is said, already arrived. But, if you were to ask them, whether the waggon loads, that were lately captured in the Spanish Galeons, have at all tended to prevent the imposition of *new taxes*, they would be compelled to say, *no*. Not a dollar of the captured money will ever get into circulation here. Not a shilling of tax will be saved us by Buenos Ayres. Not a jot will Napoleon concede for it at the making of a peace. The capture will enrich some half dozen of persons concerned in it, and some few merchants who may trade to the colony; but, to the people of England it will bring no alleviation of their burthens in war, no safety in peace, and, as to their internal freedom, it will tend to diminish it, by throwing more patronage into the hands of the crown, and thereby giving to another portion of the people an interest different from that of the great mass.——"The *Wealth* of the Indies" is a common saying, and common sayings do much. But, this "wealth" has made us poor indeed. One *tenth part* of the taxes, which we pay this very year, we pay only because we possess the East Indies. The labour of Englishmen is taxed, cruelly taxed, to support the East India Company and their possessions; and, if we retain

Buenos Ayres, that labour will be further taxed for that purpose.——The capture, and the appointments and re-inforcements thereby occasioned, will cost about half a million; and that half million must come out of the people in taxes.——If, indeed, the capture could tend to *diminish the power of France*; if it could tend to augment the power which Great Britain has of annoying France; if it could tend to change the relative situation of the two powers, then would I hail the capture with great delight; but, I am convinced, that it cannot; I am convinced that it will only tend to disappoint and to enfeeble this kingdom, and, therefore, with me, it is no subject for rejoicing.

NATIONAL DEBT.——In a subsequent part of this sheet, my correspondent DECIUS endeavours to show, "that, if the nation be "*now* in a perilous situation, that peril "would be rather *aggravated* than dimi-"nished by its ceasing to pay interest upon "its debt." I will answer him in my next, leaving his letter to work its way in the meanwhile; but, I will, here, just ask, whether he can conceive any cause of peril equal to that pointed out, in my last sheet, (page 420) as arising solely from the existence of the national debt?

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."——The writer of the Morning Post has written above three columns again, but, he *has answered neither of my three questions*, put to him in the preceding sheet, page 424. I have, however, to make my acknowledgements to him for the correction of an error of the press, owing to which an *m* was left out at the end of the first word, in line 8 from the top.

NATIONAL DEBT.

SIR,——Had I recollected (for I read them at the time they appeared) the arguments you had employed, to endeavour to prove the *justice* of ceasing to pay interest on the national debt, I certainly should not have contented myself with nakedly asserting, that the measure appeared to me unjust, without, at the same time, stating the reasons upon which that opinion was founded. I have since re-perused those arguments, and would now endeavour to state why I think them unsatisfactory, and insufficient to maintain the position they are adduced to support, were it not that it appears to me that all considerations as to the justice, or policy of extinguishing the national debt, would be rendered superfluous, were it to be shewn that the nation would not, to any material extent, profit by such a measure. That the nation would be a gainer by ceasing to pay its annuitants, appears to have been a proposition that has hitherto been left to be maintained by its own internal evidence, rather than by any arguments that have been adduced in proof of it. This is the most natural and obvious view of the subject: why it appears not to be the true one, I propose now, as shortly as I can, to submit to you. Should I be mistaken, I should be happy to receive correction. From the observations that have fallen from you on my last letter, it becomes necessary that I should assert, that I have no particular opinion to maintain, nor any motive, other than a love of truth, for wishing to see one side of the question prevail in preference to the other. I am no banker, no stock-holder, or stock-jobber. Not that I am anxious to disclaim any connection with these classes of men, from any success that appears to have attended the endeavours that have been made to render them infamous, and, therefore, that there is a positive merit in possessing nothing in common with them. On the contrary, it has always afforded me very sensible pain, to see a writer, who, on all other subjects, is so eminently distinguished for luminous statement, and a vigorous temperate mode of reasoning, pollute his disquisitions by the employment of abusive epithets, the use of which, no man, however great, can sanction: they add nothing to the weight of the argument, or to the legitimacy of the deductions, and when there appears an attempt to enlist the passions in the cause, one is apt to imagine, that it arises from a conscious deficiency of arguments suited to persuade the judgment.——You have, in a former part of your Register, stated your reasons for supposing that the case of the nation and its creditor, does not altogether correspond with the case of an individual and his creditor. Cases may be conceived in which this disagreement would exist, and in which it would not. If an individual, involved in debt, and whose subsequent means of support were entirely independent of his creditors, were, without any expense to himself, to become at once exonerated from his debts, his condition would clearly be the better by the amount of the sums that he thus ceased to become liable to pay. Between the case of an individual so circumstanced, and that of the nation there is evidently material difference——Not so would it be, if you suppose that it is partly from these same creditors, and by means of the sources of supply which would thus be cut off, that the debtor derived, either directly, or, what comes to the same thing, indirectly through the medium of others, his

means of existence. If the supply ceases, so must the return that was made by it: and so must all other sources of supply which by its distribution it served to create. So would it be with the nation and its creditors. If you suddenly (and whether suddenly or gradually as to this purpose makes no material difference) ceased to supply them with that income which served them as a source of subsistence, you not only extinguish the supply in the way of taxes which they themselves directly afforded, but you also extinguish, at the same time, all those sources of supply, which, by its distribution, the money they receive, served to give birth to.—Whether the annuitant's means of subsistence be derived entirely from the annuity received from government, or partly from this, and partly from other sources, makes, as to the purpose in question, no material difference. If it be wholly derived from this source, his means of existence is altogether annihilated: if only partly from this source, by so much as he ceases to receive, by so much must his expenditure be diminished. It is so impossible to trace the course of any particular sum of money, from the pocket of the individual, in its progress among the several hands which it may come to pass through, that no specific species of commodities, or any particular class of individuals, can, with any degree of certainty, be pointed out, upon which the consequence of ceasing to pay the annuitants the income they had been accustomed to receive would ultimately fall. What, however, is certain is, that if the annuitants were no longer to receive their annuities, the demand for those articles, which the annuities had hitherto been expended in purchasing, must altogether cease, and with the demand for the articles, the means of the subsistence of those persons who were employed in the fabrication of them. In the case of that class of persons whose income consisted solely of these annuities, and the amount of what was no more than sufficient for their maintenance, the diminution in the demand would fall principally upon consumeable commodities. When the annuity was larger, the diminution in the demand would fall, both upon articles of consumption and articles of luxury: meaning by articles of luxury, such articles as are merely agreeable without being absolutely necessary to existence. When other sources of income existed besides that derived from the government annuities, the diminution in the demand would fall for the greater part, if not entirely upon luxuries. The consequence then of the government ceasing to pay the annuitants is obvious. Those who have no other source of income, in default of friends, willing and able to maintain them, go to the parish. Those who have other sources of income, would suffer no further inconvenience than the being compelled to relinquish the use of such commodities as they can best spare.—But it will of course be observed, that, if it be admitted that the capacity of the nation for yielding taxes be diminished by such an operation, yet at the same time is its demand for them also diminished, by the whole amount of what it now pays to its annuitants, and thus the non-annuitant may come to be released from the payment of those sums that are now taken from him to be given to the annuitant. Admitting, for the purpose of the argument, such a transfer of property to be called for by the circumstances of the country, yet it would be impossible to effect it, without a greater attendant disadvantage than seems to have been imagined. You cannot give to the non-annuitant *all* that you take from the annuitant. It cannot be passed, undiminished in its value, from one hand to the other. Independently of the consideration that the suffering occasioned by the loss of any given sum is always greater than the pleasure produced by the gain of it, and on this score alone would come to be made a considerable defalcation from the benefit of the measure, to the burthens already imposed on the non-annuitants, would come to be added fresh burthens imposed on other grounds. If the annuitant no longer receives his annuity for his support, he must be maintained, unless he be annihilated, by money raised in the shape of poors'-rates; and, together with the annuitant, would come to be maintained in this same way, all those classes of persons whose source of subsistence depended upon the expenditure of his annuity. And while thus the burthens came to be increased, the weight of them would also be increased, by a diminution in the number of persons among whom they would be to be divided. ——True it is, that by ceasing to pay interest on the national debt, the aggregate wealth of the nation would not, for the moment, be diminished, any more than its wealth would be diminished by the passing of an act of parliament, prohibiting, among individuals, every debtor from paying his creditor. But, to make any absolute addition to its wealth, the one of the two measures would be of equal efficacy with the other. It would be merely the making a transfer of property from hand to hand. Whatever you give to B, you must previously, and to an equal amount, have taken from A. And

admitting the non-annuitant, to surpass in virtue the annuitant, in any degree, that, for the purpose of the argument, it can be convenient to imagine,—admitting the excess of his virtue, to be so pre-eminent as to entitle him to be rewarded for it, by the whole of such property as the annuitant derives from the money he may have vested in the funds; yet, considering the great general alarm and inconvenience such transfer would be attended with, and considering, as above, the great expense that the annuitant must be put to, for the purpose of conferring a small and perhaps miserable benefit on the non-annuitant, there seems to require much stronger reasons than have hitherto been assigned, to justify the measure in question.—As to what increase to their present burthens the nation would be able to bear, that appears to be a question quite foreign to the present purpose: it is evident that some limit there must be, to the amount of the taxes that can be raised: but for the vainness of attempting to fix that limit, we require no further proof than to recollect how completely have failed all the predictions that have hitherto been ventured on that subject. At present, all that is meant to be maintained *is*, that if the nation be in a perilous situation, that peril would rather be aggravated than diminished by its ceasing to pay interest on its debt.——I am, Sir, your humble servant, DECIUS.—*Sept.* 13, 1806.

P. S. I would not be understood as shrinking from the considerations as to the *justice* of the nation's ceasing to pay its annuitants; and, I may, perhaps, trouble you with another letter on that part of the subject.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

"And then for the people, it is my manner ever to look as well beyond a parliament as upon a parliament; and if they abroad shall think themselves betrayed by those that are their *deputies and attornies* here, it is true we may bind and conclude them, but it will be with such murmur and insatisfaction as I should be loath to see. These things might be dissembled, and so things left to bleed inwards; but that is not the way to cure them. And, therefore, I have searched the sore, in hope that you will endeavour the medicine." Sir F. Bacon. See his works, v. iv. p. 326, ed. 1730.

SIR;——Having been, for a long period, an attentive observer of your writings, wherein with a pen of fire are traced official abuses, and state corruptions, I begin to think it time you should point to some rational means of amendment. To shock and to irritate the public mind, with instances of misgovernment and traits of profligacy, with proofs of imposition and examples of apostacy, without at the same time prescribing *the remedy*, or exciting hopes of recovery, would be to aggravate the evil, by extending the influence of despondence, and adding to the number of those who despair of the commonwealth. As a sentiment so unworthy as this can never enter your own breast, implant it not in the bosoms of others. As you have repeatedly "searched the sore," so now "endeavour the medicine."—— When the natural body is afflicted with a variety of ailments, how shall we hope for relief unless our physician understands the anatomy of the human frame, and the science of physic. So when the political frame is sinking under a complication of maladies, must we not, for the cure, look to the political anatomist who is versed in the science of civil government? If a statesman mean, by his prescriptions, to save our state, must he not direct his principal attention to that which is its most vital organ, the COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, to see if it be sound or diseased? And if there he find "the sore," must he not, for "the medicine," resort to those principles of government on which political life and health depend? After travelling, Mr. Cobbett, the whole round of misgovernment, after exposing every species of abuse, if state preservation be your object, to the vital organ you must come at last.——Are the people crushed and bent down to the earth by the pressure of innumerable taxes? Where have they a remedy, but in the justice and prudence of parliamentary "*deputies and attornies?*" Are they harrassed and humiliated by the incessant visits, the insulting carriage, and the irresistible power of the fiscal swarm? Whence, under such circumstances, can they look for relief, but under the protecting wings of "*deputies and attornies*" in parliament assembled? Is the money, intercepted by taxation from the maintenance and education of virtuous families, expended in the ostentatious revellings of harlots? Is the nation's substance consumed in pensioning the servile dependants of successive ministers? Is the Exchequer itself beggared by jobs and peculation in every department of the state? Where, in any of these cases, are there to be found powers of reformation, but in the vigilance and virtue of "*deputies and attornies*" in a Commons House of Parliament? Should all vestiges of freedom disappear, should barracks every where profane the land, and mercenary legions, domestic and foreign,

furnish proof that our government was revolutionized and despotism established; where, but in the existence and patriotism of parliamentary "*deputies and attornies*," could the nation find the means of recovering its constitution, and a shield of future protection? Should ministers of all denominations, whether Whig or Tory, or of the faction behind the throne, however hostile to one another as rivals for power, invariably agree in perverting all the natural, the constitutional, and the cheap defence of our island against invasion; in undermining the national strength, and insidiously fortifying a despotism already introduced; where would reside the means of counteraction and the sources of salvation, but in the honesty, the wisdom, the courage of real "*deputies* "*and attornies*" in parliament? Then, after all your indignant reprehension of fraud, treachery, and peculation, and all the fire of your eloquence on plundering hypocrisy, and unblushing profligacy, if the renovation of our country, if the preservation of our laws and liberties, if our continued existence as an independent state be your object, hither, I repeat it, Mr. Cobbett, you must at last come. Here, and here alone, will you find our civil, and in the arms-bearing of free citizens, our military security. In beginning with official turpitude, and personal wickedness, you may have done well; but you will not, I am sure, incur the imputation of political blindness, or the reproach of mountebank quackery, by unceasingly beating the air on topics, which, unless we can produce some reformation, are barren and disgusting.——Your penetrating mind will not rest until it have explored the true source of national good and evil; until it have learned the real condition of the heart of the state, of that organ in which preeminently resides political life. And, fortunate, Sir, it is, that in this case we are not liable to be misled by the use of metaphorical language. The physician of the natural body can only, from effects and external symptoms, conjecture respecting the healthful or the diseased state of the heart; but, in the state's political body, the whole anatomy is visible, the heart itself is open to our view; that is to say, we can pretty nearly ascertain in what several proportions the Commons House of Parliament is sound and healthy, or is destitute of popular feeling, or is utterly and contagiously corrupt; for we pretty well know in what proportions it respectively consists of "*deputies and at-* "*tornies*" of the people by means of true popular election; of the automatons of peers, or of the servile dependants of the court. All perhaps that is wanting towards its reformation is, to fix on that assembly the public attention; and to prevail on our countrymen to scrutinize it with a constitutional eye, and to try it by the test of the principles of our free government. In such an investigation we must be cautious to avoid all unwarrantable licenses of speech, and to drop all figurative descriptions of this part of our government; a language so frequently and so insidiously indulged in by politicians unfriendly to our liberties. We ought even to abstain from such metaphors as I myself have just used, in calling the House a vital organ, the heart of the state, and so forth; and closely to adhere to plain literal English, expressive of the true intendment of our law and constitution; as the great Bacon has done, in calling the members the "*deputies* "*and attornies*" of the people.——Now, Mr. Cobbett, with great submission to persons better instructed in the science of civil government and our English polity than myself, I must observe, that if there be one criterion more to be depended on than another, for shewing whether our laws and liberties are safe or in peril, are truly possessed or really lost, it will be determined by the degree in which the members of the House of Commons are independent or dependent; the true "*deputies and attornies*" of the people, or something else unknown to the constitution. Here, then, is an inquiry as worthy of your industry, as a faithful report will be of your pen. And, if I mistake not, the time is near at hand, when the labourers in this field shall gather a noble harvest. That, abating only a short truce, we owe fourteen years of war, all its calamities, and all the consequences yet to be apprehended to the shocking, the monstrous policy, of *preventing a reformation* in this part of our government, is a conviction of observant men, a conviction which not all the eloquence of a Pitt could ever shake, which the florid declamations about jacobinism, of that quondam reformer, only served to root more deeply in their minds, and a conviction which must keep pace with inquiry, and spread with the spread of truth. Look back, Sir, over the disastrous space of time to which I have referred you; review in conjunction the professed principles and the actual measures, the preachings and the practices, of those who opposed parliamentary reform. The measure of their wisdom and their virtue it is *now* easy to understand. Even their former inconsiderate partisans, having paid dear enough for instruction, begin rightly to appreciate the merits of the jugglers, who, by means of their phantas-

magoria of terrific visions, duped them at once out of both liberty and property. What *internal enemies* had the state at the time alluded to, but ITS OWN CORRUPTIONS? What *external vigour* did it want, but AN INDEPENDENT PARLIAMENT and AN ARMED PEOPLE? Are not these at all times our means, if we want either prosperity or preservation? Could these have ever failed us in preserving the peace of all *Europe*, at a time when, as we now of a certainty know, *France*, prior to the breach between her and *Austria*, was a humble suitor to our King, for averting the threatened war by his mediation, and on the terms he should think fit to prescribe? But, the consequence of peace, Sir, at a season when the spirit of parliamentary reformation was prevalent, was full of danger to the Borough dominion. And, were not, think you, the Borough-sovereigns of *England*, as jealous of their dominion, and as ready to plunge into a war for its defence, as other sovereigns? Or were they not as prompt to sieze on new territories, and to deal out to their dependants gratuities and indemnities out of any spoils they could lay their hands on, as any partitioners of *Poland*, or any dethroner or creator of new kings whatever? Or would, in the nature of things, these sovereign lords of the Boroughs be less disposed than any brother sovereign, to the policy of carrying on a war *at an invaded people's expense*. In this masterly generalship, not a Napoleon himself has outdone them, either in the hypocrisy of pretending friendship and protection, or in the practice of atrocious pillage: while with one hand they have levied the heaviest contributions, with the other, they have widely extended the limits of their empire. But the odious despotism they have erected having its foundations *rotten*, even to a proverb, 'tis doomed, we may trust, to an early dissolution. Having, as we may say, its existence in the general ignorance, general discussion must produce its annihilation.——Duped, Sir, as we have been, by the fraudtul proprietors and patrons of the boroughs, or, in other words, the monopolizers of corruption, and by the shallow pratings of the partisans of their despotism, to carry on a war of delusion and folly upon our own property and freedom, let us now, undeceived, retrace our misguided steps, let us review the work of our advisers, and let us contemplate our own present condition! How terrible, in particular, the magnitude of our debt! How frightful and portentous, the immense increase in the number of our paupers! Do we not feel the Exchequer to have become sole proprietor of every man's estate, himself degraded to a bailiff for the management? If such be our internal situation, are our external relations much more gratifying? Almost totally bereft of alliances, our ancient rival, and fourteen years ago our suppliant, is lord of the Continent, and master of those shores, the possession of which hath more than twice over doubled the danger of invasion; our own coast, vast as the navy we maintain, not thought secure without Martillo towers, and disgraceful entrenchments, and acts of parliament for reviving the long dormant doctrine of a right in the King to call for "*the military services of all his liege* "*subjects!*" But with what fidelity to their country ministers have received this doctrine we have seen, by their care that all volunteer exertions, as well as all the armed services of the people, shall uniformly be at *the will and option* of the crown, IN DIRECT CONTEMPT OF THE CONSTITUTION, as may be abundantly seen by consulting *England's Ægis*, referring to the index under the head of "*arms-bearing, a duty.*"——Although Mr. Windham, in debate upon his training act, (46 G. 3. c. 90) rejected in a lofty tone the proposed clause of Mr. Yorke, copied from his own General Defence Act, empowering the crown to *suspend* at its pleasure the act then under discussion, he (Mr. Windham) nevertheless, took especial care to render the entire operation of the statute subject to the royal *discretion*; for in respect of calling for the military services of his lieges, his Majesty is thereby empowered to direct the apportionment of "*any* number "of men, not exceeding two hundred thou-"sand;" so that in fact, whether, in the now relative situations of *England* and *France*, we are to have trained to arms for our defence two hundred thousand of the people, or two thousand, or two hundred, or two score, is solely to depend upon the *discretion* of the King, or, in other words, the *discretion* of ministers; while we see all ministers alike vying with each other in building-up a gigantic standing army that is to overshadow the land, and which, if not outnumbered in a four-fold proportion by the armed people, must at once impoverish and enslave our country. How, Mr. Cobbett, are we to account for the sudden conversion of every new ministry, whig or tory, reformers or anti-reformers, to the maxims of arbitrary government? And, still more, how are we to account for the most arbitrary acts of the most arbitrary ministers, finding uniform support among those who ought to have no other office or character, than that of "DEPUTIES AND ATTORNIES" of the people? And their shewing on all occasions peculiar alacrity when the vote is for money or for soldiers? I beg pardon, Sir, for my inat-

tention. I had for a moment forgot that I was speaking of sovereigns; with whom, of course, revenues and armies are the objects of first consideration. To return, however, from this short digression, I would remark, that it is in the solution of the questions I have just put to you, we must read either the salvation, or the ruin of our country. For this very reason, I will not desire your immediate thoughts upon the subject. Let it first sink deep into your mind: bestow on it frequent meditation: make it, both by reading and reflection, the familiar inmate of your bosom: duly contemplate its nature, and its importance, and then, Sir, your pen shall achieve glorious things in the cause of reformation.——Meanwhile, as a dissolution of the present parliament is talked of, I wish, Sir, to ask you a few questions. 1st. Have you heard any better reason assigned for such a dissolution, than that the Treasury Boroughs may not continue to give seats in the House to those who have left the Treasury Bench? 2dly. As you, and every friend of his country, must wish to see in the next parliament, *honest men who are qualified in estate and knowledge, who hold sacred the constitution, who are incapable of violating the laws against bribery, and are equally incapable of acting a dependent part*; can you inform the public by what possible means even an individual man of this description can obtain a seat in the next parliament? And, 3dly. Have you any conception that we have a single peer, or other borough-holder, who is sufficiently intelligent of his country's real condition, and sufficiently virtuous to cause such men only as I have described to be returned for his boroughs at the next election? If, Mr. Cobbett, you can neither point out such means, nor such a peer, must we not read in your silence the unhappy destiny of our country, unless a parliamentary reformation shall introduce a new order of things? As probably the storm of war will be soon weathered for the present, and as the tide of *alarm* running counter to reformation appears to be well nigh spent, it behoves every honest pilot to bestir himself, for getting the shattered vessel of the constitution into safety, before a fresh storm begins to rage. But *France! France! France!* the vultures of corruption will again scream in our ears. Well! *France!* What then! When *France*, shaking off her antient despotism, and its inveterate corruptions, set about a change of regimen, *accident* threw her into a violent fever; from which, however, she soon rose with tenfold strength and vigour. Shall, then, the advocates of despotism and corruption, shall the politicians of revenues and armies, fellows of the vulgar politics of the longest sword, shall such logicians hold up to us, in terrorem, this *France*, that has attained to incredible empire by the road of *reformation*? Whatever may be at this moment the condition of *France*, in respect of *political liberty*, she has as much of it at least as she had before she started, and, except naval superiority, she has every thing else which her wildest ambition or vanity can well covet. But, let it not be overlooked, that it was the shaking off of her old worn-out despotism, and the actual taste of *political liberty*, which *gave* her the energies that have brought the Continent to her feet. A government of talent, although it hath suspended the liberty, has preserved the energy; and, to the contemplative mind, it appears highly probable the liberty will revive and flourish.——Between the case of *England* and that of *France* there never was more similitude than between Fluellius Macedon and Monmouth. All the parallels that were drawn by our plane-struck alarmists, played upon by the crafty masters of the wires, were almost too ludicrous for serious refutation. Such was the case of *France*, while her king was on his throne, that, as it should seem, nothing but a friendly support of her new limited government on the part of *England*, for averting external attack, could possibly prevent convulsion, until her freedom got consolidated with mitigated monarchy. That support was sullenly refused; the French King lost his life; convulsions followed. But still *France* at this moment, covered with military renown, sits arbitress of the fate of surrounding nations; and that very *Talleyrand*, who, as a secret functionary of Louis XVI. could not (as I understand) even obtain an audience of Lord *Grenville*, to sue for an English mediation to save the new-born liberties of his country, but who certainly did not obtain the mediation, is now the public minister of his Imperial master, whose smiles are coveted by the ambassadors of all *Europe!*—From this state of things in *France*, a state contemplated by English statesmen with no small envy, how shall our borough sovereigns conjure up a new bugbear to terrify us from the thoughts of parliamentary reformation? *They*, of all men, will not surely remind us, that *Napoleon* is no great respecter of liberty and property! *They*, surely, of all men, will not draw parallels between French representation and English representation, French taxation and English taxation! It is the very burthen of the perpetual song of these gentlemen, that we live under a government of king, lords, and commons; and that this is the best and soundest of all possible constitutions. And

these gentlemen, who detest all theoretic principles of government, make it their continual encomium of our constitution, that it is a government of practice and experience; and, drawing comparisons between past and present times, they tell us that this constitution has been regularly advancing to its present perfection, by improvement upon improvement; that is to say, if I understand them aright, by reformation upon reformation; and I particularly remember a proclamation, in the administration of Mr. Pitt, and, as I think at the season of alarm in the year 1792, in which high praise was given to the "glorious revolution" of 1688; in which event reformation was a conspicuous feature; although, on the two points which make the principal subjects of this letter, it was, to the unspeakable injury of our country, lamentably deficient. But let me ask such of our borough-champions as are conversant with all the money departments of our government, if decay and corruption are so absolutely at an end, that reformation of government can never more be wanting? Or if our stock of reformation have been so completely exhausted by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Rose, and Lord Melville, Lord Henry Petty, Gen. Fitzpatrick, and Mr. Windham, that the wit of man cannot carry it one step further? And I shall conclude this long letter with saying, that if Mr. Pitt were in the habit of observing, that representation was the grand principle of the English constitution, I may perhaps be allowed to remark, that that which of all things in nature, is most congenial with its spirit, is REFORMATION.——

ALURED.—*September* 15, 1806.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS,

SIR,——From the date of the letter of your correspondent on the Catholic Claims, which appeared in your last week's Register, I should apprehend that you have had so many communications upon the subject, that it is in your opinion pretty nearly *worn* out, and ceases to afford that rich variety of argument that is generally so conspicuous in every subject with which you favour the admirers of sound, logical, reasoning. Should there, however, be a chasm left, you may indulge me with the insertion of a few words upon the subject.——I apprehend, Sir, that the Catholic Claim can admit of support but upon one of these two grounds; either that the Catholics have a *right* to the participation of the offices of the state, and a division of the *political spoils*; or that it is the policy of the state, and the interest of the country at large, that this participation should be admitted. That it is essential to the well-being of every state that there should be a *national religion*, will admit of but little controversy; that a state has a *right* to legislate and point out of what persuasion this national religion shall be composed, will also be conceded; and these two propositions being established, it will be pretty evident, that when any state has so legislated and established a national religion, that every distinct sect or persuasion can only exist in virtue of the liberality of the laws of such state, which by their tolerating principle allows of their existence, and protects them in the exercise of their different tenets. The question of right, therefore, sinks before the hopes of the most sanguine Catholic coadjutor, and upon the ground of POLICY must the success of the question stand or fall. Now, Sir, upon the question of policy, I think it will be conceded, that in every corporate body, whether a state or an inferior compact, the union of the members who compose it, is the first great and important principle that is to be attended to; and that in proportion that faction more or less exists, is this fundamental principle of union destroyed. Now, Sir, without swelling this subject with quotations from history, or the pamphleteering disputations which have existed in all ages, and at all times, between the disciples of different religious sects, it will, I am persuaded, be admitted, that no *factions* ever arrived to so *deplorable* a height, that no *contentions* were ever so *lamentable* in their *consequences*, as those which *derived* their birth from *religious* disputes. The voracious appetite for place of an *half-starved* politician, is an *emblem of forbearance*, compared with the *thirst* for power which has been too often evinced by the bigots in all religions: is it not then the imperious duty of every state to prevent such vicious and mischievous consequences; and how can this be done, if you make *a Turk a premier*, *a Catholic a secretary of state*, and *a Protestant a first lord of the admiralty*? Oh! certainly it may be done, says your correspondent; for these men of different persuasions, however contentious they may be upon subjects of *spiritual*, will never differ *upon that of a temporal* nature; but, Mr. Cobbett, I will content myself with an appeal to your knowledge of human nature, whether it is not almost a *lusus naturæ*, a prodigy, to find two men *differing* upon the fundamental principles of religion, and in *perfect harmony upon all other subjects*. Sir, in the nature of things this cannot be: you see different sects in religion, like the different species in the animal kingdom, each associating with its own kind, and avoiding the society of the other: this is the direct *instinctive faculty*,

if I may so call it, of the human mind. Why, then, what is the evident consequence? Ambition is the ruling passion of man: if a man be a sectary, the *current* of his ambition runs *with his sect*; in preferring them he *exalts* himself; and the same principle of aggrandizement pervades every persuasion, as it arises from the quality of human nature itself. If then this be so, Mr. Cobbett, is it not perceptible that a cabinet of *discordant spiritual opinions* will run considerable danger of being *discordant* in the *temporal* ones also, should this danger be incurred? Can it be contended to be good policy to permit it? Will the hardiest advocate to this MORE than toleration, insist there would be LESS of GOOD-NATURE than *gross* and *unpardonable folly* in such a measure; and if this be the candid and true result of what would ensue from a compliance with the Catholic claims, I am sure that that Catholic *ceases* to *evidence* any Christian-like virtues, who is desirous a state should be so undeservedly situated.—W. F. S.

——*Lincoln's Inn, Sept.* 15, 1806.

RUSSIA AND FRANCE.

The following article is taken from the French Official Paper, the MONITEUR, *of the 5th instant. It is very important, as communicating to us what is said by the French Government upon Russia's refusal to ratify the Treaty, lately concluded at Paris by Monsieur D'Oubril, whose full powers are subjoined.*

The Peace of Presburg, the Treaty of Alliance between Prussia and France, and above all, the moral, political, and military consequences of the battle of Austerlitz, took away entirely from Russia the power of disturbing the peace of the Continent. This was all that concerned France.—We were waiting with as much uncertainty as patience, to ascertain what part the Court of Russia would act, when M. D'Oubril arrived at Vienna. This Minister went to M. de la Rochefoucault, and demanded passports for Paris.—M. de la Rochefoucault waited for authority to grant them. He informed his Court of the demand of the Russian Minister, and received orders to give passports immediately to M. D'Oubril, because, although the Emperor never intended to tolerate on the part of Russia an imperious intermeddling in interests which are placed out of the sphere of her power, or in discussions foreign to her localities, yet he nevertheless desired a reconciliation beneficial to both powers.—M. D'Oubril arrived at Paris on the 9th of July, he proceeded to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and after some conversation, he exhibited full powers, which authorised him in the most complete and comprehensive manner, to negociate, conclude, and sign a peace between the two Powers.—On a report to this effect being made to the Emperor, his Majesty appointed as his Minister Plenipotentiary, General Clarke, Counsellor of State, and Secretary to the Cabinet, whom he authorised to negociate, conclude, and sign, by virtue of powers similar to those of M. D'Oubril, a Peace with the Emperor of Russia.—The Plenipotentiaries gave themselves up with a constant and uninterrupted attention to the labours of the mission with which they were charged, and at length, after a great number of conferences, a Peace was signed on the 20th of July. When the Treaty is known, all Europe will be opinion that this Peace was equally honourable to both Powers.—Hostilities were to cease immediately, and they did cease on the part of France. The ratifications were to be exchanged on the 15th of August, and it was not doubted that this exchange would take place, it being known that the negociators had been for a long time in the confidence of their respective Sovereigns; they having also negociated, according to precise instructions: and lastly, they having acted by virtue of complete and positive powers, and not, as it happens, in some negociations, in which negociators are uncertain whether they have sufficient powers, under the clause *sub spe rati*.—M. Ruffin, however, Chancellor of the French Consulate in Russia, arrived on Wednesday from Petersburgh; and brought intelligence that in consequence of a change of Ministers the result of the new principles of the Russian Government, and of the extraordinary ascendancy which the English party have obtained in consequence of this circumstance in the new Cabinet, the treaty of the 20th July has not been ratified.—Thus hostilities between France and Russia must recommence. The men who preside over the quarrels of nations, and who make it their sport to prolong or to multiply the fatal periods of war, and the overthrow of States, are quite mad. The conquerors of Ulm and of Austerlitz are still assembled under their colours, and near the field of their triumphs, more numerous and more formidable than ever; from the nature of that organization which cannot be equalled, and which will never be surpassed, they wait with impatient hope for the impetus of the great soul which animates them, *Mens agitat molem, &c.*—At the same time nothing can yet give reason to presume the renewal of the Continental war. The destiny of States is the secret of Providence. Their happiness and their glory depend upon the wisdom of

their rulers.—In every event, the Emperor as well as the people of France, are prepared for all chances, and the armies of his Imperial Majesty will be found, wherever it is necessary to combat, in order to consolidate tranquillity and a lasting and glorious peace.

Full Powers of M. D'Oubril

"We, Alexander I. Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c &c. (through all the titles of his Majesty) being actuated by a solicitude for the preservation of Europe in a state of calm and tranquillity, and animated by a sincere desire to put an end to misunderstanding, and re-establish peace with France on solid bases, we have considered it proper to commit this task to a person enjoying our confidence. For that purpose we have nominated, appointed, and authorized our trusty and well-beloved Pierre Oubril, Counsellor of State, and Knight of the Orders of St. Wolodimir, of the third class, of St. Anne of the Second, and of St. John of Jerusalem, whom we do nominate, appoint and authorize by these presents, for the purpose and to the intent of entering into conference with the person or persons who shall be properly authorized on the part of the French Government, and of concluding and signing with them an act of convention upon bases proper for the settlement of the peace which is to be established between Russia and France, and to lay the foundation of peace between the other belligerent Powers of Europe.—We promise on our Imperial word, to take for granted, and to execute faithfully, all that shall be agreed upon and signed by our said Plenipotentiary, and also to give our Imperial ratification within the time which shall be agreed upon.—In testimony of which we have signed these full powers, and have affixed thereto the seal of our Empire.—Given at St. Petersburgh, the 30th of April, 1806, and in the 6th year of our reign.—ALEXANDER. —(Countersigned) PRINCE ADAM CZARTORYSKI.—(Certified to be translated conformably to the Original)—PIERRE D'OUBRIL."

BUONAPARTÉ AND THE JEWS.——*Letter written to the Emperor Napoleon, by M. Jacobson, Agent of Finances to the Court of Brunswick*

SIRE,——Penetrated with sentiments of the most profound veneration, and filled with that admiration which these extraordinary men always excite, who, at different periods, are chosen by the Eternal to ennoble the human race, I approach your Majesty's throne with all that confidence the great actions with which you have caused the astonished world to resound, are calculated to inspire.——I have not the happiness to be numbered among the people for whose advantage you sacrifice all the moments of your life. I belong not to that happy country, to which you have called back peace. I am one of the unfortunate Jewish people against whom ignorance and superstition have leagued, in order to degrade them and render them the opprobrium of every other nation; but the Lord of Hosts has chosen you to give happiness to the world, and the Jews are a part of that world. I belong to that people whose misery has for more than 1000 years in vain implored the compassion and the humanity of sovereigns; to that people who expected in you their saviour, and who in you, Sire, have found him!—I have constantly endeavoured to promote the happiness of my countrymen by civilizing them; and my efforts have been crowned with the happiest success. I have at last been able to interest several German Princes in favour of the Jewish people. I have obtained for my unfortunate brethren the abolition of an infamous tax. I have established, at my own expense, an institution for the instruction of Jewish children, and in which there are at present more than twenty Christian children. Now, however, I place no limits to my hopes, since I have the happiness to raise my suppliant voice to the throne of your Majesty.—Deign, Sire, to extend your beneficent views to the Jews who inhabit the countries adjoining to your vast empire. If you confine your benefits to that part of my brethren who are among your Majesty's subjects, how much will still remain to be desired! How will it be possible to surmount the obstacles which the difference of the French administration and that of other states, will place between them and us?—The commercial relations of France and Germany require a constant intercourse between the Jews of these countries, but what Jew, inhabiting your states, would degrade the title of French citizen, by the humiliations and vexations which the system of administration in Germany would make him experience? Would he choose his spouse among a people rendered infamous by the laws of the country they inhabit?——How great and sublime is the enterprise of breaking the chains of a people unjustly oppressed! Who but a God can hearken to their complaints and deliver them from an insupportable bondage!——The Princes of Germany do not oppose the accomplishment of this grand work: on the contrary, it is the object of their wishes. They are anxious to ameliorate our condition. We groan under

the operation of ancient laws dictated by barbarism, and which prejudice only could have maintained until the present day.—— The German Jew would be happy where he permitted to earn his bread honestly, to enjoy the common right of protection which governments owe to their subjects; and were there given to his worship a practical form, which, without deviating from his own law, would accord with the exercise of all the duties of citizenship.—But to attain this object it would be necessary, 1. To establish a Sovereign Jewish Council, presided by a patriarch residing in France. 2. To class all the persons professing the Jewish faith according to the districts they inhabit, with a synod to each, which, under the superintendance of the French government and the Sovereign Jewish council, should decide on all affairs connected with worship, and should appoint the Rabbis. 3. To authorise the said sovereign council to supply each Jew with the necessary expenses for enabling him to fulfil the duties of a citizen in every country.—These means, Sire, appear equally certain and indispensable. Only break the political and ecclesiastical chains which confine the Jews to a state of slavery, and you will soon see them aspire to the dignified character of other nations. Then shall we emulate our ancestors, who changed the barren rocks of Palestine into delightful gardens, and covered them with the richest harvests. Then shall we be worthy of bearing the same name as those heroes who planted their victorious standards on the banks of the river Jordan, with the same hands with which they guided the plough and shuttle.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Supplement to the London Gazette Extraordinary, of Friday, September 5, 1806.—Sunday, September 7, 1806. — Dated Downing Street, September 6. 1806.

(Concluded from p. 448.)

With this view Captain Hoste made a prompt disposition of his frigate and small craft, while the transports were directed to make sail towards a point considerably in front of the enemy's column, and to make a demonstration of landing there; this appearance occasioned in the first instance a halt of the enemy's column, and in the next a change of its direction towards the mountains; Captain Hoste was enabled, however, to open a brisk cannonade on his centre and rear, which appeared to be immediately affected by it, and in an hour's time occasioned those parts of his column to break and disperse in the mountains. The enemy's loss in this affair amounted to about fifty or sixty wounded, who were brought in waggons to Cotrone this morning. After the dispersion of the enemy in the mountains, the fleet made sail towards this place, his supposed destination, where the frigate and transports came to an anchor, after exchanging a few shot with the citadel, at eight o'clock in the evening. In the morning we discovered that the enemy's army had not yet arrived, but under an anxious expectation for their appearance, a disposition was made with the transports and men of war to give him every possible annoyance; and accordingly, having permitted him quietly to take up his position within gun-shot, the frigate's broadside was brought to bear upon him, and in the space of half an hour completely dislodged and obliged him to take up a new position without the range of her guns, in the mountains.

Amphion Frigate, off Cotrone, 6 p. m. 29th July, 1806.——Sir,—Several appearances in the French encampment, concurring with other information I had received on the evening of the 27th, that the enemy meditated a move, I thought it proper to detain a communication I had prepared for you on that day, until I could convey more decided intelligence on this important subject. I have now the utmost satisfaction in acquainting you that the greatest part of the French army retreated, in a northerly direction from Cotrone, just before day-light on the morning of the 28th ult.—Immediately on obtaining this information, I dispatched expresses to the different chiefs of the masse, requiring them to concert arrangements for a close pursuit, and pointed out the many advantages they must consequently have over a flying and dispirited enemy in their mountains. I have, however, not yet been able, through any source, to discover satisfactorily by which of the routes to the northward he has retired. Some state it to be in the direction of Tarentum, to join a small force in that province; others as positively assert, that he is endeavouring to pass by the mountains to Cosenza, and by that route to Cassano. Such is the imperfect intelligence I have on this point, that I have not yet been able to determine so important a question.—The enemy's route from this city has been marked by circumstances of the most cruel devastation. The village of Strongoli, with several others within our view, which he considered hostile to his cause, have been ransacked, and burnt to the ground.—Our information of yesterday stated, that one thousand men had been left to garrison the town and city of Cotrone. But several deserters, who joined us this morning, having

mentioned that the greatest part of this force had marched to join their army in the course of the night, Captain Hoste agreed with myself in the propriety of summoning the town and citadel to surrender to the force under our orders, conceiving that the immediate possession of what we understood to be the enemy's sole dépôt, and his *dernière resort* in Lower Calabria, in point of position, together with the removal of his stores, &c. might contribute to prevent his attempt to re-enter the province.—I have now the pleasure to inclose copies of the summons, and of the terms of capitulation finally agreed upon between us. I trust our judgment in this proceeding will be confirmed by your approbation.—I shall find it, however, necessary to disembark a considerable part of my battalion this day, to cover the evacuation of the town and citadel, and to superintend the completion of the other articles of the capitulation; after which I shall immediately re-embark, and propose to make the best of my way to Messina on the 2d or 3d of August, unless previously I may receive such information as may alter my opinion, that the French have completely evacuated Lower Calabria for the present.—I am sorry to say that a good deal of sickness has prevailed in the 78th since it sailed, in consequence of their previous fatigues, and that it has lost eight men. The disease is, however, not spreading; and having appointed an hospital ship, I trust in progress will be completely checked. This unpleasant circumstance will hasten my return to Messina, unless I receive contrary instructions.—The number of prisoners and deserters now with this fleet amount to about five hundred, of which number one half and upwards are sick and wounded.——The enemy being, I believe, now completely driven from the Lower, if not both Calabrias, I cannot resist this opportunity of offering my congratulations on so brilliant a result to the expedition undertaken by the army under your immediate command, which cannot fail to be recorded in the British annals as an achievement of the first order.——I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) P. M'Leod. Major-Gen. Sir John Stuart, &c. &c.

I have just received intelligence which I can rely upon, that the route which the enemy pursued yesterday was by Strongoli and Cino, and I am to conclude he will pursue that route coastways to Cassano.

Copy of the Summons to the French Garrison of Cotrone.

The officers commanding the naval and land forces of his Britannic Majesty hereby summon you to surrender the town and citadel of Cotrone to the British force now before it.—The officers who deliver this summons to you are directed to lay before you such articles of capitulation as we are disposed to grant, and to wait one hour for your answer.——Being perfectly aware of your present circumstances, you may believe that this summons is dictated under mature deliberation, and with a view of saving that effusion of blood which must be the consequence of a resistance on your part.——(Signed) W. Hoste, commanding his Britannic Majesty's squadron.——P. M'Leod, commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops.

Terms of Capitulation finally agreed upon between the Officers commanding the British Sea and Land Forces, and those commanding the French Troops in the Citadel of Cotrone.

Art. I. The French troops are to march out of the citadel of Cotrone at ten o'clock a. m. the 30th July, 1806, with the honours of war, to that part of the beach where the flag of truce was this day received, and there deposit their arms, and immediately after embark on board of transports, to be sent to Messina, where they are to be considered prisoners of war till regularly exchanged.——Art. II. The sick and wounded are, in a similar manner to be sent to Messina, attended by their own surgeons and assistants, and are afterwards to be considered and exchanged as prisoners of war.—Art. III. Officers are permitted to wear their swords, and are to be considered as prisoners of war until exchanged.——Art. IV. The troops of his Britannic Majesty will preserve order and tranquillity in the city.—Art. V. All private property which belongs, *bonâ fide*, to either officers or soldiers, will be respected.—Art. VI. All public property that there may be is to be delivered over, with a proper inventory, to the officer who takes possession of the place.——Art. VII. The surgeons will attend their own sick and wounded, as mentioned in Article II. but all Civilians who have attended the French army will be considered as prisoners of war, in consequence of the principle established by the French government during the present war.——Art. VIII. The British troops will take possession of the gates of the town of Cotrone between eight and ten o'clock tomorrow morning; the French garrison will march out of the citadel at ten o'clock, a. m. precisely, and be immediately embarked for Messina, agreeably to Art. I. (Signed) W. Hoste, commanding his Britannic Majesty's squadron.——P. M'Leod, Lieut. Col. commanding 2d 78th reg.

Printed by Cox and Bayliss, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent-Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.